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## AFFIRMATION OF FRIENDSHIP AND COOPERATION

Visit of Vice-President Kardelj to the U. A. R.

BY N. OPAČIĆ

The visit of Edvard Kardelj, Yugoslav Vice-President, to the United Arab Republic, from December 10th to 18th of this year, as yet another in a series of useful and fruitful visits exchanged by senior statesmen of the two countries, affords a fresh opportunity for affirming the profound and cordial friendship and the close and comprehensive cooperation which distinguish relations between the two countries, regardless of their being geographically far apart. From the results produced by contacts of this kind in the past it may well be expected this time too, that the talks between Vice-President Kardelj and President Nasser and his closest associates will lead to the further promotion of cooperation in all spheres of bilateral relations, and also to significant consultations and agreements on the policy and moves of the uncommitted countries, at a time when new crises and dangers threaten to obscure the world horizon.

In view of the outstanding role played by Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, as prominent advocates of the policy of non-alignment, peace and active coexistence, in the strengthening of the front of independence and progress

in the world, it is justifiable to assume that the talks in Cairo will result in the further coordination of the two countries' efforts, and of their uncommitted policy generally, with a view to influencing further world developments in an active and constructive manner.

In quality, variety of forms, aspirations and closeness, the relations and cooperation between the peoples and governments of Yugoslavia and the UAR are a rare and instructive phenomenon in international relations. Mutual rapprochement and understanding began in the early years of this decade, when the Egyptian Revolution started a new chapter in the history of the Arab world and of the Afro-Asian revival. This ancient country, one of the first to contribute to the general culture and civilization of mankind, from the very first moment of her revolutionary struggle for the elimination of imperialistic structure and domination in the Arab region, met with the sympathy and support of both the people and the government of Yugoslavia. It could not have been otherwise since the progressive aims of the Revolution which, under the leadership of Gamal Abdel Nasser, fundamentally changed the life and



fate of the people of the UAR as well as the politico-social physiognomy of a large part of Africa and Asia, were identified by Yugoslavia as part of her own aspirations for the abolition of all forms of colonialism and imperialistic hegemony over the peoples of Asia and Africa. With equal attention and satisfaction, the Yugoslav peoples followed the achievements in the internal construction of the UAR, which is developing in the spirit of universal progress, and whose forms, particularly those in the fields of social, political and economic development, constitute an original and interesting phenomenon in contemporary social trends.

Thanks to her independent policy and the impact she has made and is still making on the course of events in world affairs as well as in her inner regional sphere, the United Arab Republic has become a new, powerful factor in the sphere of world relations.

Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic, both uncommitted countries which have built their conceptions and practical policy on the principles and spirit of Bandung and the UN Charter, have found their common path and basis for close cooperation in the struggle for the putting into practice of the principles of coexistence in international life, for the equality, independence and freedom of all nations, and for the dignity of man.

Brought close together by the similarity of their aims and views on the methods of settling contemporary problems, the two countries have achieved, within a comparatively short time, an impressive degree of bilateral cooperation in all fields. Their relations have transcended the framework of conventional, correct collaboration, and have developed into a lasting and cordial friendship between the two peoples. The direct contacts between President Tito and President Nasser have played a special role in the development of these relations, as they regularly expand the framework and enrich the content of mutual cooperation. These contacts have often led to the taking of important steps, both on the international plane and in the field of bilateral relations, which gain fresh strength and stability after each meeting of the two Presidents. There have now been seven meetings between the two heads of state, without counting their recent meetings in New York where, with the leaders of other uncommitted countries, they played a notable and constructive role at the session of the UN General Assembly, where their presence and activity helped to ease the general tension.

In order to learn more about each other's problems, experience and achievements in internal development, Yugoslavia and the UAR have introduced the practice of the exchange of visits between members of the government and parliament, senior state officials, and prominent public, cultural and social workers. Thus, for example, during the past few years, Mr Fawzi, the UAR Foreign Minister, and many other members and senior officials of the UAR Central Government and the provincial governments of Egypt and Syria visited Yugoslavia, while many members of the Yugoslav Federal Executive Council, including, Koča Popović, Vladimir Popović, Milentije Popović, Moma Marković, Hasan Brkić, Sergej Krajger, Krste Crvenkovski, Ljubo Babić and others, paid state visits to the UAR.

Economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the two countries has outgrown the framework of conventional trade exchanges, and has entered a qualitatively higher stage of intensive preparations for industrial cooperation and joint participation in long-term plans of economic development. As for regular goods exchanges, which are carried out under a longterm trade and payments agreement signed in 1957, they have reached an annual level totalling four thousand

million dinars, both ways, in the past few years, while this year this volume will be considerably surpassed. Under an agreement signed in 1958, Yugoslavia exports capital goods to the UAR on credit, while under another agreement of 1959, the UAR exports on a long-term basis crude oil, phosphates and manganese ore for the requirements of the Yugoslav industry. With regard to industrial cooperation, both sides are agreed that there is ample opportunity for cooperation in this field, too, particularly in the motor and motor vehicle, textile, metal, chemical, food and electric industries and mining. This year, it has been decided to form a mixed committee on a ministerial level, which, among other things, is to investigate opportunities and suggest measures for industrial cooperation. A mixed commission for scientific cooperation, set up last year, is already recording notable results. Within the scope of technical assistance, 150 students from the United Arab Republic are studying this year at Yugoslav universities and specialized institutions. There has also been varied and intensive cultural cooperation for which separate plans are drawn up every year.

Based on full equality, common interest and respect of the specific position and needs of each country, cooperation between Yugoslavia and the UAR promises a steady ascent in all spheres. There is no doubt that the present visit of Vice-President Kardelj to the UAR will reaffirm this tendency in the development of bilateral relations.

The special significance of the Cairo talks derives from the fact that the new dangers threatening peace and the rights of the people in the Congo, Laos, Algeria and the Caribbean area, place new tasks and responsibilities before the uncommitted countries. This necessitates even more frequent consultations between the champions of an independent, uncommitted policy, which has already proved to be the most effective obstacle in the way of imperialistic and colonialistic undertakings, and which will prove even more so in future. This time too, the responsible representatives of such countries as Yugoslavia and the UAR will formulate corresponding views and coordinate their activities, in line with the interests of peace and the moral and natural rights of the oppressed nations.

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# NATO — the Fourth Atomic Power?

BY L. ERVEN

IN ATLANTIC Pact circles it is expected that at the regular December meeting of this organization a proposal will be discussed, which comes from the American side, and which has been, in principle, accepted by the majority of the European NATO countries — a proposal supported by General Norstad, commander-in-chief of the Atlantic forces, that atomic weapons should be added to the armament of these forces. This plan is treated as one for transforming NATO into the fourth atomic power.

Nuclear weapons are already included in NATO's armament, as well as in its strategic plans and dispositions, though not under the control or command of the Atlantic Pact, but under American military command. American military bases in Europe, along with stores of nuclear weapons and hangars for the means for transport, are included in the infra-structure of the Atlantic military system, but the American command has either sole disposition of them or disposition in agreement with the authorities of the country where the bases are situated. The new American plan would have the effect of assigning to the organs of the Atlantic Pact, within a certain scope and for certain types of nuclear weapons, the right to control these weapons and to decide on their use. The Atlantic Pact would thus become another nuclear power with the right of disposition of nuclear weapons. This means something more than before, since up to now this organization has only been able to avail itself of nuclear weapons which have not been at the disposal of its headquarters — but it means, at the same time, something less than the other atomic powers, for it will have at its disposal only the weapons which are ceded to it by the United States. The nuclear competence of the Atlantic Pact remains thus fully dependent on the United States.

This proposal for the setting-up of an independent atomic power in the Atlantic Pact coincides with other events and plans. These are, above all, the intensified initiative of the French Government in preparing for the atomic armament of the French army, and the mounting insistence of military circles, both in West Germany and outside, on the atomic armament of the Bundeswehr. On the other hand, this American atomic initiative coincides with the anxiety caused in America by some of the economizing measures taken by Eisenhower's government in view of unfavourable reports on the dollar balance and gold reserves.

This brings us to the conclusion that these events do not constitute a real coincidence. The prospects of the widening of the so-called atomic club are not agreeable to the United States. The whole American atomic policy, founded on the monopolistic ideas of MacMahon's plan, was focussed on limiting to the lowest possible extent the circle of countries which have their own atomic bombs. On the other hand, both the army and the government of the United States are under pressure from some of their Atlantic allies, who want them to mitigate or even to abolish the atomic monopoly which

MacMahon's Law gives America, not only in respect of the manufacture of atomic weapons but also of responsibility for their use. After de Gaulle's decision to set up France's own atomic forces, and with the problem of the West German army becoming even more acute, a certain reform in relations between the allies regarding their atomic politics seems inevitable. The new American plan has the characteristics of such a reform. The U.S.A. may suppose that the ceding to the Atlantic Pact — as the collective military organization of her European allies — of certain types of nuclear weapons, while retaining the right to their full disposition, will remove the pressure made by some of the European members of the Pact for the organization of their own nuclear armament, and by others for the restriction of the American monopoly in deciding on the use of such armament.

Viewed from the financial aspect and from that of the American budget policy, this atomic plan has the character of a special American form of economizing, since it calls for the participation of the members of the Pact in expenditure on atomic armament, which up to now has been borne by the United States alone. This expenditure would amount for the first part of NATO's nuclear armament to nearly 700 million dollars. This sum may not appear large among the astronomical figures of the American military budget, but it shows the urgency of the problem of economizing, which faces the Eisenhower administration at the end of its term.

The elements of the organization and technical implementation of this plan are not known. All that is known is that the new Atlantic nuclear power is to be restricted to a certain kind of missile, partly ceded and partly sold by the United States to the Atlantic Pact. According to published data the figure of 180 "Polaris" missiles is stipulated. The Atlantic atomic power is to be mobile, since it will be mounted on mobile launching bases, submarines, wagons or lorries. For this purpose the purchase of five nuclear-propelled submarines is planned. Information about the organization of the apparatus to handle this armament, and about the organ which should, at the given moment, decide on its putting into operation, is lacking.

The most difficult problem is that concerning the organ which would decide on the use of atomic weapons and thus take upon itself responsibility for all the consequences of such a decision. If it is to be the commander-in-chief of the Atlantic forces then it is again an American! If it is to be a special commander, how can unity of command be maintained? If it is to be a political organ — consisting of representatives of the Pact members how can speed and efficiency be secured? The Western press is already pointing out the difficulties which will be caused in the Atlantic Pact by these questions of organization, if the Atlantic nuclear force comes to be set up. But this is an "internal question" of the Pact. How does it present itself viewed from the broader, international aspect?



We have seen that the appearance of the Atlantic Pact as the fourth atomic power will be of limited effect, particularly owing to the fact that it will have at its disposal only the kind and quantity of nuclear armament supplied by the United States. Consequently the question of the Atlantic Pact taking over the whole atomic armament in Europe is not raised. This means that along with the Atlantic nuclear system controlled by the Atlantic Pact, there still remains the American nuclear system, controlled by the American Supreme Command. One of the reasons most of the European members are prepared to risk the transformation of the Atlantic Pact into an atomic power is their certainty that — through the control taken over by the Atlantic Command concerning the use of nuclear weapons — the nuclear system would be a protective one for the defense of Europe, to be decided upon by the European states. This objective is, however, reached only in part, since the Atlantic nuclear system does not include the nuclear weapons which remain entirely in the national competence of the American Command. The principle of responsibility for the consequences of using nuclear weapons, which the European members of the Atlantic Pact wish to have assigned to their representatives in this Pact, is only partly secured in respect of the weapons ceded to the Atlantic Pact. But in this field partial security is no security at all. Hence one of the basic motives by which the individual members of the Pact are guided in their demand to place the use of nuclear weapons under the control of the Atlantic Pact will not be taken into account in this reform.

## ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

# Some Results and Prospects of the Industrialization of Eastern Europe

By Ljubiša MARKOVIĆ

THE postwar economic policies of the countries of Eastern Europe have an essentially common feature which has been maintained without great changes in all its stages: from the change over to long-term economic plans (in 1949—1950) until today, industrialization has been the decisive factor in the movement of the entire economy. The whole balance of the economy and all its tasks depended on and were finally subject to this basic objective of economic development.

Industrialization is determined by the proclaimed socialist transformation of society, and its social, political and economic indispensability makes itself felt in all countries, regardless of the inherited level of their productive forces. But this orientation was especially marked towards the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties, because of the straining of international relations, which was reflected in the pace as well as in the trend of subsequent industrialization.

Viewed as a whole, industrial production increased, at an exceedingly rapid rate, and resulted in a corresponding

The official character of this American initiative for the reform of the armament of the Atlantic Pact is not quite clear. It is difficult to suppose that the Pentagon should not have given its previous agreement to everything it implies. It seems to have the support of Eisenhower's administration. The agreement of America is in any case the basic condition for the realism and seriousness of the whole project. It is difficult to give defined forecasts of its destiny, since there are not yet any reliable signs of how it will be regarded by the new American government. It is possible that the views of the new administration of these problems and the role of the United States in them will differ from those of the old one, which is freeing itself from the tactical conceptions of the hardest days of the cold war in a slow, heavy and hesitant manner, and that only partly, in the complex of East-West relations. In any case the setting-up of another nuclear power, however limited its potential, means a new contribution to the course of strained international relations, which may have similar unfavourable consequences in other quarters as well. For this is the law of every arms race.

In this period of international tension, when the objective international factors, the uncommitted countries and the international public, are making so many efforts to open the way for concrete and constructive talks on actual disarmament, this Atlantic Pact move, if carried into effect, will certainly be a move in the opposite direction, and against the interests of the consolidation of peace.

change in the existing structure of economy. The participation of industry in the total industrial and agricultural production was considerably augmented, especially in the formerly underdeveloped countries.

## PARTICIPATION OF INDUSTRY IN THE TOTAL INDUSTRIAL AND AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

(in percentages)

Country	1937—1939	1954—1955	1956	1957
Poland	47.4	80.0	68.4	69.6
Czechoslovakia	58.0	81.5	70.0*)	..
East Germany	75.9**)	82.0	82.0	85.2
Hungary	42.0	70.7	..	..
Rumania	35.0	66.0	..	..
Bulgaria	24.8	..	67.5	68.3
Albania	9.7***)	..	..	48.9

\*) 1955    \*\*) 1950    \*\*\*) 1938



A further consequence of industrialization was the change in the class composition of the population. The number of active members of the population increased, which was of particular importance to the backward countries, in which there was great agrarian overpopulation. Owing to this, the percentage of increase in employment was the highest in other than agricultural activities, above all in industry. However, the transition to administrative, centralized management caused a considerable growth in the number of administrative personnel and, as was pointed out in 1954—1955, when the reduction of the number of employees was being attempted, the number of those employed in material production and of those in the administration was, as a rule, extremely disproportionate.

The changed position of industry, though it primarily resulted from its own rapid development, became all the more marked the further the other economic branches, particularly agriculture, moved in the opposite direction. In contrast with the high rate of growth of industrial production, agriculture stagnated in all countries of Eastern Europe, except Bulgaria, until 1954, owing to the extensive means engaged for the needs of industry, as well as to the methods and policy of the collectivization.

The maximum engagement of the productive factors in industrialization, being concentrated on certain branches of heavy industry, did not secure the necessary tempo of the development of the branches which produce consumer goods.

As this disproportion was not mitigated by foreign trade exchange, but the structure of the exchange was even subjected to one-sided industrialization, it began to be reflected more and more unfavourably in the living standard of the population, in which there was a marked decline in 1952—1953, causing corresponding negative political repercussions.

From this time forward the process of industrialization began to be evaluated in a more realistic way and to be viewed from the angle of the broader development in the national economy. The industry remained the main lever, but greater importance was given to the proportional development of economy. In this connection, certain modifications were made in the structure of industrial production, and the development of other branches, especially agriculture, was stimulated more strongly.

The removal of the disproportion was indispensable, not only for the solution of the delicate question of the living standard, but also because the further trend in the industry itself depended on it. The development of economy, being concentrated on certain key branches, corresponded less and less to industry in progress, the less so as further expansion of these branches was limited by the needs of the national markets. These limitations were the result of an almost identical development of the economies of the countries of the socialist camp and of their insufficiently developed exchange with the countries outside this area.

In all the countries of Eastern Europe efforts had been made up to 1956 to do away with the obvious disproportions, and emphasis was laid on increase in the production of consumer articles, along with the harmonizing of development in the processing branches of industry. Changes were made in the economic plans everywhere, and there were also partial changes in the management of the economy, with the aim of encouraging its development. This latter element, however, was not marked until after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The proportion between the "A" and "B" sectors of industrial production was changed in favour of the production of consumer articles. This was characteristic to a large extent of the industrially developed countries, especially Hungary and Czechoslovakia, where in 1957 the share of the "B" sector in the total volume of industrial production increased to 47 per cent and 43 per cent respectively, from the rates of 37 and 38 per cent in 1953. In the other countries this tendency was not so marked. In Bulgaria, and even more so in the German Democratic Republic, where, in the period ending in 1953, the production of industrial consumer goods was not neglected any considerable extent, the share of the "B" sector in the total industrial production even declined.

The changes in the structure of industry after 1953 were directed towards establishing a better proportion between raw material and productive power, and the processing branches of heavy industry. Serious efforts were made to get rid of the deficit in basic raw materials, fuel and power sources, but the shortage in these products was only partly met.

These changes, although contributing to partial improvement of the economy, slackened the tempo of industrialization. The annual rate of growth of industrial production began to decline, and in certain countries this tendency was even marked. The reasons for this changed rhythm in industrial development should be sought in several complex factors. But two elements should be set apart and emphasized on account of their importance and effect.

First, in normal conditions of the productive forces, palliative changes in the system of management, when certain undesirable methods and forms were still maintained, could not contribute much to the mobilization of latent reserves. This is best illustrated by the example of agriculture, where the productive effect was small, and where larger investments to some degree lessened the possibility of maintaining of the previous tempo of speeded-up investment in industry. Second, the disproportions in industrial development which could not be solved within the bounds of national economics, remained a check on the development of industry. This appears to have been particularly felt when efforts were made to liquidate the deficit in power sources, metals and fuel. In some cases, above all in Hungary, there did not even exist the necessary natural conditions for this.

#### ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

(in percentages)

Country	1950	1951	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959
East Germany	11	22	14	13	10	8	6	8	..	12
Czechoslovakia	16	14	18	9	4	11	9	10	11	..
Hungary	35	31	24	11	2	8	9	11	12	12
Poland	..	22	18	17	11	11	9	10	10	9
Rumania	..	24	17	15	6	14	11	8	10	11
Bulgaria	15	19	16	15	10	8	15	15	16	..
Albania	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	26	20	20

The second reason for the slowed-down tempo of the industrialization of the countries of Eastern Europe began to be considered more thoroughly within the framework of SEV Council for Reciprocal Economic Assistance) from 1957 onward. The work of this regional organization in recent years has been focussed on an attempt to strike a balance between the consumption and production of articles of the raw-material producing and processing branches of industry,



through a corresponding method of work among the SEV member countries. The basic intention is that each country should be guided in its production by its own specific natural conditions. But, as shown by the long-term plans and foreign trade arrangements, Eastern Europe as a whole will retain her deficiencies in this field, and some articles may still be expected to be in short supply.

Although, judging by the relatively scarce literature, this specialization has not been implemented consistently, it has nevertheless affected a considerable number of important branches and an extensive series of products. This is reflected in the mutual trade exchange among the SEV member countries which, according to forecasts, should be particularly augmented with types of goods whose production is specialized.

As expected officially, the extension of the international division of work to machine construction and some other processing branches should contribute to increase in production and make it far more profitable. From the theoretical point of view a wider market should lead to increased productivity and production, and to reduced costs. But regional limitations of the criterion of profitability and productivity might have undesirable reflections in countries where capacities in some branches are large.

The solution of questions concerning the principles of reciprocal economic relations of the countries of Eastern Europe in general, and the prices applied in foreign trade exchange and co-operation in the field of investments, in particular is the more important and complex, as differences in level of development are still very great between the countries of this area. Although the somewhat quicker pace of industrial development in the underdeveloped countries in the postwar period has mitigated the most outstanding difference between them and the industrially developed countries, there still remains a considerable difference. If Albania, where conditions for industrialization have only just started, is excluded, the remaining countries can be divided into two categories. Czechoslo-

vakia and the German Democratic Republic (DDR) have retained their position of first-rate industrialized countries, while in Bulgaria and Rumania agriculture is more important than industry. Hungary and Poland represent an intermediate category, with a tendency towards approaching the industrially developed countries. This division is confirmed by the structure of employment, which simultaneously shows that the application of methodology in the underdeveloped countries lead to the share of the industry in the creation of national revenue being greatly overestimated. The listed place of the individual countries has not been essentially changed in favour of the industrially underdeveloped countries, but, according to data on the annual rate of growth of industrial production this difference has even increased in some cases.

#### PLANNED INDEX OF INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION

Country	Basic Year	Index 1965
Poland	1960	150
Czechoslovakia	1960	156
Albania	1960	155
Rumania	1959	210
Hungary	1959	165 — 170
East Germany	1959	188

The published plans and draft plans show that substantial changes in the relation between the developed and underdeveloped countries cannot be expected, even in the coming period, ending in 1956. From this it can be concluded that the proclaimed principle of equalized economic level of the SEV member countries is encountering unforeseen difficulties, and that it is looked on as a matter for the distant future. Its realization will greatly depend on the volume and character of the aid of the developed countries to the underdeveloped ones. But more extensive engagements of the USSR in the financing of economically underdeveloped countries outside the socialist camp will probably diminish her assistance to the countries of Eastern Europe.

## U. S. Economic and Political Interests in Africa

By Novica BLAGOJEVIĆ

THE United States did not participate in the colonial conquest of Africa in the second half of the 19th century. This accounts for the fact that the continent was divided only between England, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Portugal and Spain. These countries considered themselves as having the exclusive right to the conquered African countries, and they prevented other capitalist countries from investing their capital there. Hence the total investments of American origin amounted only to about 100 million dollars up to 1939. But in the postwar period the situation changed completely and now American capital appears in all the African countries, parallel with that of the old colonial powers.

This increased share of American capital in the exploitation of African natural wealth was facilitated by World War II, which brought about the weakening of the economic and political relations of the African countries with their metropolises, and led to the appearance of American armed forces on the

African continent. Thus, the USA began to establish economic relations with the African States during the war. The volume of trade greatly increased, which compensated to a considerable extent for the lack of regular trade relations with the metropolises, which could not be maintained. From 1940 to 1945 imports from Africa to the United States recorded a growth of 250 per cent, while USA exports to Africa increased by 600 per cent. At the same time there was a growth of 50 per cent in American net investments in the African countries.

In the years following the war, the USA cleverly turned to the best advantage the precarious economic conditions in England, France and Belgium, and continued to develop and strengthen her economic relations with the African countries. The investment of capital was simultaneously speeded up, especially for the production of strategic raw materials, of which there are large quantities in Africa, but which are in short supply in the USA. This economic orientation of the



capitalist circles was supported by the official American policy, which aimed at the establishment of political and economic positions in the African countries and the removal of competition from the West European and other countries. African riches were to make up for the diminished possibility of investing capital in Asian and other countries.

Besides its economic interests, the USA attaches great political importance to the strategic situation of Africa. This accounts for American military plans to transform the African continent into one of the chief atomic bases and rocket-launching centres.

It was in connection with this that Mr. Holmes, Assistant Secretary for Economy in the USA, declared in 1958 that Africa was of interest because of her important strategic location, which was needed by the United States for the setting-up of air-force and naval bases. The policy of establishing military bases at the outposts of Africa and other parts of the world is officially interpreted as a measure for USA's security. But this policy appears to be supported by big capital, which is interested in retaining the bloc division of the world, facilitating as it does the production and delivery of military supplies and yielding big profits. Today the USA has military bases and aerodromes in Morocco, Lybia, Liberia, the Congo, Nigeria and other African states.

All this is taking place in conditions created by the powerful African Liberation movements and the decay of the old colonial powers. This dual and rapid process, which is producing independent African countries one after another, is attracting big capital to exercise a diplomatic and ideological influence on the peoples of Africa. The conditions for this are favourable, since both the masses and the small national bourgeoisie are dissatisfied with the European colonizers, and the USA is trying to prove her good intentions and efficiency in offering aid and for the development of the economy of the African countries. Hence the increase, in the form of aid, of the investments made by the USA in these countries.

Private and state investments reached the amount of more than two milliard dollars by the end of 1959, which is twenty times as much as the prewar amount. The American trusts are making a tremendous profit out of this. Roughly estimated, their investments bring in about 20 per cent, or 400 million dollars a year. If this sum, which goes to strengthening the economic power of American capital, were invested in Africa, about 150 electric power stations with a capacity of 100,000 kwh could be built. It should be emphasized that the inflow of wealth from Africa to the USA is far larger than the figures stated above, for many companies evade control by registering their firms in other countries. In this neither the dividends of the credits and loans to the African countries nor the unequal exchange through foreign trade, whose volume increased 5.5 times in 1958 as against 1940, is included. The increased volume of trade results from increased imports of strategic and scarce raw materials, such as iron and copper ores, uranium concentrates and columbite. In 1956, of the total import volume the USA imported 79 per cent tantalum, 78 per cent columbite, 76 per cent cobalt etc. from Africa.

American capital is rapidly gaining prestige over English, French, Belgian and other capital in Africa, American investments in Africa in 1959 amounting to 40 per cent of English investments. This means that in a fifteen-year period of investment American capital has reached nearly half the rate of the invested English capital, which has been in Africa for more than a hundred years.

The most effective means for the penetration of American capital into African countries is in the form of economic and technical "assistance", which is absolutely necessary for the independent countries of Africa, for by this the policy of the American financing is implemented through the state. "Aid" to the African countries should secure American private capital the maximum expansion with a minimum of state capital. This is shown by Africa's inferior share in the total aid the USA has rendered to both developed and underdeveloped countries, to preserve its own economic balance. From 1945 to the end of 1955 the independent African countries obtained only 233 million dollars, or 0.6 per cent, from the total American aid of 41.5 milliard dollars. All the African countries together have received about 900 million dollars in the postwar period. The bulk was given in the form of credits and loans, and only 62 million as "aid" for the development of the African economies.

The funds allotted by the USA to the African countries are chiefly utilized for the direct financing of means for increased production of strategic and scarce raw materials, and for the financing of infrastructural works, including the building of railroads, strategic motor-roads, harbours and aerodromes in the districts where American capital is already active. In this way "aid" to the African countries is canalized into the economic branches whose development is in the interests of the USA, a circumstance which means that the African countries, when liberated from their dependence on their metropolises, may become economically dependent on American capital and be reduced to a raw material source for American economy. This means that American "aid" does not solve the crucial question of the African countries: the diversification of their economies in order that their great dependence on foreign markets may be lessened. This is why the African countries prefer obtaining aid for their economic and social development through specialized UNO agencies, since any other increase in capital, including American, affects their independence. Thus the penetration of American capital into the African countries acts in two ways: It endangers both the independence of the African countries and the position of European capital, although the USA uses various tactics to obscure this fact. When the question of Africa's inclusion in the system of changed relations of the economic forces in the capitalist world and capitalist exploitation is raised, the USA ranges herself with the West European colonial powers to prevent the total independence of the African countries, at the same time systematically clearing the way for its trusts to weaken the economic position of capital of West European origin.

Accordingly, the USA comes forward as the protagonist of a so-called middle course between the colonial powers and the anti-colonial forces. This "course" consists in efforts to take the maximum advantage of the liberation struggle of the African peoples to subject them to the political and economic influence of the USA by new "improved" methods, which answer better to present conditions and should be substituted for the traditional methods of their exploitation. This accounts for the fact that American capital is gaining a firmer and firmer footing in the African countries, which the old colonial powers are economically and politically too weak to resist. To preserve the political unity of the capitalist world, the Western capitalist countries are compelled to suffer the development of free competition of capital on the African continent. This guarantees American capital, which is bolder in granting long-term investments indispensable for the better exploitation of African wealth, the leading role. The weakened role of West European capital means its abstinence from long-term and big investments,



since these run the risk of being lost in case of sudden political changes in Africa. By turning West European abstinence to her own advantage the USA is gradually taking over the colonial heritage of the old colonial powers.

The American capitalists struggled for this heritage actually during the war, and continued to do so after it. To this end an American-French contract was signed as early as June 1948, under pressure from the USA, by which France undertook to supply the latter with certain strategic raw materials from her own territory and those of her colonies, to compensate for her credit under the Marshall Plan. This enabled American capital to participate in a direct way in the exploitation of the African territories under French domination. The following year the American investors were already guaranteed the right of converting their profits into dollars.

A similar agreement was reached between the USA and Belgium, guaranteeing American investors the security of their capital, along with great financial privileges in the former Belgian Congo and Ruanda Urundi. American capital appeared in 1950 as the holder of one third of the shares in the "Tanganyika Concession", an English company engaged in the exploitation of copper and uranium in the Congo. After five years a contract was concluded between the USA, England and Belgium, under which 90 per cent of the uranium production was put at the disposal of the USA and England. This gives American capital increasingly safe control over the exploitation of Congolese wealth.

The share of American capital in joint-stock companies is illustrated to some extent by the following table:

Company	Raw Material Type	Operation Area	Share of American Capital in Joint-Stocks
"Rhodesian Selection Trust" + "American Metal"	Copper	Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland	50.6 per cent
"Gualph Oil" + Portuguese Companies	Naphtha prospecting	Mozambique	65 per cent
"Tin and Associated Minerals Limited" (English) + "Kennebecot Copper Corporation" (American)	Columbite	Nigeria	52 per cent
"Miner de l'Augou" + United States Steel Corporation"	Iron Ore	Former French West and Equatorial Africa	49 per cent
American "Bethlehem Steel" + French, Italian, West German and Belgian Companies	..	..	50 per cent
American "Socony Mobile Oil" Societe de Petrole d'Afrique Equatoriale Francaise"	naphtha	..	50 per cent

USA capital has established itself most firmly in the South African Union, where the American investments increased from 86.6 million dollars in 1943 to 600 million in 1960. This increase suits their mutual interests: it is in the interests of the USA, because from the political point of view the South African Union is "the best sphere for investing capital" and from the economic point of view it is a storehouse containing tremendous quantities of valuable minerals. At the same time, the government of the South African Union sees in it the establishment of an alliance with the USA in the struggle against

the growing liberation movement in the country. The increased activity of the American trusts in the South African Union is fully backed by the state, which is interested in increasing the production of uranium needed for up-to-date armament. According to the estimate of the USA Commission for Atomic Energy, the production of uranium concentrates in the South African Union holds third place in the world, coming after Canada and the USA.

Availing themselves of the active support of the American government, the trusts increasingly enter into connections with English companies with a view to exploiting the uranium and the gold of the South African Union. American capital has found its way into the "Anglo-Transvaal Consolidated Investment Company" a big gold exploitation concern, financed through the newly opened "American-Anglo-Transvaal Investment Company" with a capital of 20 million dollars, mainly of American origin. The case is the same with the "American South African Investment Company" established in June 1958, with a capital of 30 million dollars, 75 per cent of the shares belonging to American capital.

The few examples quoted illustrate the rapid advance of American capital in the traditional spheres of the West European monopolies. This process reveals also the great contradictions between the USA and the old colonial powers who, in consequence of the African liberation movement, need American military aid, at the price of the extended participation of American capital in the exploitation of the natural riches of Africa, and of inter-capitalist contrasts sharpened by the appearance of West German and Japanese trusts.

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# NATIONAL MINORITIES

By Aleš BEBLER

OF 18 million inhabitants of Yugoslavia somewhat more than 2 million or 12% belong to national minorities, which means that their mother tongue is none of the languages spoken by the South Slav peoples associated in the Yugoslav federation — Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians and Montenegrins (speaking the Serbo-Croat, Slovene and Macedonian languages). The minorities belong to larger or smaller linguistic groups, the last census in 1953 enumerating them as follows: Shiptars (Albanians) 754,000, Hungarians 502,000, Turks 260,000, Slovaks 85,000, Bulgarians 62,000, Rumanians 60,000, Ruthenians 37,000, Italians 36,000, Czechs 35,000, Russians 12,000, and another 16,000 belonging to tiny groups or to nationally undetermined persons.

The attitude towards these minorities is, therefore not unimportant not only by reason of their total number but also because the problem is a complicated one. But in spite of the difference in language, the varying level of their development, etc., from the very foundation of new Yugoslavia, i. e. from the end of the Second World War, owing to a consistent democratic policy, their presence has never given rise to any serious difficulty, either with regard to the internal unity of the country or in her relations with others.

The minorities — without exception — are accorded all citizens' rights. According to the Constitution of 1946 which has never been altered in this respect "All citizens of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia are equal before the law and enjoy equal rights regardless of nationality, race or creed. . . Any act granting privileges to citizens or limiting theirs on grounds of difference of nationality, race or creed, or any propagation of national, racial or religious hatred or discord are contrary to the Constitution and punishable" (Art. 21). . . " . . . All citizens, regardless of sex, nationality, race, creed, degree of education or place of residence who are over 18 years of age have the right to elect and be elected to all organs of state authority" (Art. 23) and "all public offices shall be equally accessible to all citizens in accordance with the conditions of the law". (Art. 33).

In addition, equal rights for the largest minorities — the Shiptars and the Hungarians — are confirmed by way of autonomous status for the regions they mostly inhabit. These are the Autonomous Region of Kosovo and Metohia and the Autonomous Province of Vojvodina. These autonomous territories have their own representatives in the Parliamentary Council of Nationalities, where each of the six republics forming the Yugoslav Federation has ten representatives. In this Council Kosovo and Metohia has four and Vojvodina six representatives. Thus, together, they have as many representatives as each of the other republics. The autonomous regions have their own elected representative bodies and executive committees (councils).

The practical meaning of the active and passive electoral rights for the minorities, and of autonomy for areas inhabited by minorities, can be most clearly seen from the example of Kosovo and Metohia. Here, the national minority — the Shiptars — is in the majority, and therefore most of the deputies in the representative body for Kosovo and Metohia are Shiptars. The president of the Executive Council (Government) is a Shiptar too.

In the spirit of the full equality of citizens, their languages also have a completely equal status, for the idea of an official language is neither accepted nor recognized. The most important legal consequence emanating from this attitude is that every deputy, from a local councillor to a member of the Federal Parliament, may use his mother tongue at sessions of the representative body he belongs to (such addresses are as a matter of course simultaneously translated into the language of the majority). Whenever communicating with the public administration or courts of law all citizens are entitled to use their mother tongue. Where in a certain administrative division a national minority is in the majority, its language is official in the sense that the affairs of the public administration (of a commune or district) are conducted bilingually, i. e., both in the language of the minority and in that of the majority in the said republic (Serbo-Croat, Slovene or Macedonian) and that all public announcements are written in both languages.

In the case of the largest minority, i. e., the Shiptars, within their autonomous region, an Ordinance issued by the Regional Executive Council is in force, stipulating that all legal documents of a public character are decided upon and announced in both languages (Shiptar and Serbo-Croat), debates held and records of the sessions of all representative bodies made in both languages, public headings (names of streets and institutions) are bilingual, all forms and documents are in both languages, etc. etc.

In many ways the Yugoslav policy towards the minorities exceeds the maintenance of these "classic" rights. Most significant in this respect is the economic aid offered by the more developed parts of the country — through the Federation — to the less developed ones. This to a large extent affects the minorities, particularly the Shiptars and Turks, who are settled in the least developed areas. Thus the Social Plan for the period 1957-61 provides a sum of 50 milliard Dinars (about 80 million Dollars) for economic investment in the region of Kosovo and Metohia. The necessary means are usually obtained through loans from the Federal Investment Fund, but in the case of Kosovo and Metohia they are not repayable to the above institution, but to the Regional Investment Fund for reinvesting. The Region of Kosovo and Metohia also enjoys numerous other facilities and subsidies.

The position of the minorities has changed fundamentally since the extensive introduction and development of local



self-government in Yugoslavia. The minorities are very often in the majority in a commune and even in a district. The range of competences granted to communes and districts enables the minorities to solve their own economic, cultural and educational problems, as well as to carry out their own decisions. The significance of this is best illustrated by the fact that the self-governing units in Yugoslavia control 70% of the net national income.

In all countries where minorities exist, the question of their own schools is an especially delicate one. In practice, the Yugoslav system of local self-government leaves this question on the whole to the minorities themselves. Each minority having a developed language of its own and forming a sufficiently compact community, has its own elementary schools. These are the Shiptars, the Hungarians, the Turks, the Slovaks, the Rumanians, the Bulgarians, the Italians, the Ruthenians and the Czechs. This system has expanded to such an extent in post-war Yugoslavia, that it embraces two and a half times more pupils than did the minority elementary schools before the war. Shiptars, Hungarians, Turks, Slovaks, Rumanians, Bulgarians and Italians have their own secondary schools, as well as separate subdivisions in vocational schools. Thus there are Shiptar subdivisions in the following vocational schools: for economics, medical, technical and musical training, as well as for mining. Students are granted scholarships for higher schools and universities. There are more than 1,500 students from Kosovo and Metohia at higher schools and universities.

A great effort was made in the publishing field for the benefit of the minorities, either with respect to printed information or textbooks and other books. Eleven magazines are published in Shiptar, ten in Hungarian, etc. Almost all broadcasting stations in the country have programmes in minority languages, and all the more important minorities have their own cultural and educational societies. This activity naturally depends to a large extent upon the willingness and customs of the minority itself. The Czechs, a very literate and lively minority, has organized 31 cultural societies and 51 libraries, although as a group they number only 35,000 persons.

The language of the minorities, which are used in schools and in public life, pertain to the country of origin of such a minority, and not to a certain local dialects. This in itself often calls for great efforts and living contact with the country of origin. Wherever possible young teachers are sent for study to such countries of origin (for instance to Italy) and text books are also purchased there.

Of course the minorities for many practical reasons find it necessary to know the languages of the majorities as well. The minority schools wish to meet this necessity and desire, so that in all of them the language of the majority in the corresponding republic is taught too. This practice has helped minority schools to attract parents. (In this respect the Italian schools in the former Zone "B" of the Free Territory of Trieste are the only exception, as the London Agreement prevents such practice).

This may be considered as a rather controversial question, namely, the right of parents to decide in what language they want their children to be educated. In all civilized countries parents are granted certain rights to decide how and where their child shall be taught, but nowhere to an absolute degree. The teaching method and subject matter are not determined by parents for their children, but are regulated by laws and general rules. And such is the case in Yugoslavia with regard to the minorities. The programmes for minority schools are

set forth through a procedure identical with that for majority schools. The only choice open to parents — but an important one — is whether they should send their children to minority or to the majority school; for in mixed communities they are in liberty to do either. Consequently parents belonging to the minority are in no way compelled to send their children even to minority school. But life has proved that in our conditions, i. e., in an atmosphere of full and real equality, this freedom is not detrimental to the interests of the minority as a group, and does not deprive it of anything. The mixed Serbo-Croat-Hungarian district of Subotica may serve as good example. There the number of pupils — compared with the pre-war figure — was doubled in the Serbo-Croat schools (as a result of natural increase of population and immigration) while in the Hungarian schools it increased threefold although there was no Hungarian immigration at all.

A big novelty in the treatment of minorities in Yugoslavia is the encouragement of the study of minority languages at majority schools in mixed areas. This tendency is producing tangible results in the regions inhabited by the Hungarian and Italian minorities. Here and there the minority language is being introduced as an official subject, even in the elementary schools. In the already mentioned district of Subotica, as well as in Murska Sobota, besides separate minority and majority schools, mixed classes are introduced, which should form the basis of mixed elementary schools. There are mixed in the sense that subjects are taught in both languages. The child gets its earliest knowledge in Serbo-Croat as well as in Slovene or in Hungarian in the earliest stages of the elementary school. Later all subjects are taught in both languages (some more detailed in one of them and more condensed in the other). In secondary schools and training-colleges for the majority, the Hungarian language has been introduced as a facultative subject, and the courses are very well attended.

The Yugoslav policy towards national minorities, a very condensed review of which is given by this article, is still producing excellent results, and owing to this policy the minorities are not "alien bodies" in the national organism. Their existence and their separate cultural life does not disunite Yugoslavia, because here they do not feel they are in an alien country, but in a country that belongs to them as well as to the majority. This policy — thoroughly opposed to the policy of oppression and forced assimilation — has linked the minorities so closely to the majority that even in the most difficult days for post-war Yugoslavia, in the years between 1948 and 1953, the minorities did not hesitate for a moment, but stood firm with the majority by the leadership of the country. Neither were they a source of difficulty in relations with the neighbouring countries. Moreover, they are becoming to an increasing extent a bridge between Yugoslavia and the neighbouring nations.

In this respect, conditions on the Italian-Yugoslav frontier, one of the most open borders in Europe, are illuminating. The Italians on our side and the Slovene minority on the Italian side give the traffic on the border a characteristic liveliness. The competent authorities register annually millions of crossings. At some places more than ten buses cross the border daily and passenger cars pass as if it did not exist. All tension has disappeared from the frontier region. Both languages — Italian and Slovene — can be heard freely in the streets and in all public places, as well as Italian and Slovene songs.

All the results of the Yugoslav policy towards the minorities have confirmed our belief that such a policy is the proper one, and that by following it we are paying our democratic debt to the minorities themselves, and to other nations as well.



## Memorandum of the Yugoslav Government to Secretary General of U. N.

*The permanent representative of Yugoslavia to the United Nations Dobrivoje Vidić handed on December 7 a memorandum of the Yugoslav Government on the situation in the Congo, to the Secretary General of the United Nations Dag Hammarskjöld.*

The memorandum reads as follows:

"In connection with the existing extremely grave and dangerous situation in the Republic of Congo which increasingly assumes the character of a civil war and threatens not only vital interests of the Congolese people, but also peace in Africa and in the world in general, the Government of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia deems it indispensable to inform the Secretary-General of the United Nations about the following:

First, the Yugoslav Government and the peoples of Yugoslavia have from the very beginning of the crisis in the Congo followed with profound interest and utmost concern the development of the situation in that country which was becoming increasingly more difficult and dangerous, above all as a result of the continuous intervention and outside interference aimed at breaking the independent and free development of the newly-founded Congolese State. Owing to this development the Yugoslav Government, among other things, asked on September 8 for an urgent meeting of the Security Council to consider the situation at the time and to take the relevant measures which could turn developments in the Congo to a positive direction, in the interest of the Congolese people and of peace in the world.

Yugoslav representatives have taken an active part in the work of the Security Council, at the special session of the General Assembly and in the examination of questions in connection with the Congo at the current fifteenth regular session of the General Assembly supporting the most efficacious activity of the United Nations in the Congo in keeping with the clear provisions of the three resolutions of the Security Council and resolution of the special session of the General Assembly.

From its side the Yugoslav Government has wholeheartedly pledged itself for the realization of these aims and has placed, at the disposal of the UN Force in the Congo, its pilots, technical and other personnel, in keeping with the requests of the United Nations. The Yugoslav Government expected that the decisions of the Security Council and General Assembly of UNO would be consistently carried out, as envisaged. But the latest development of events, as well as the objective information in connection with this, show and confirm that the above-mentioned decisions are not being carried into effect and that we are the witnesses of contrary developments which are giving cause for extreme anxiety. The Yugoslav Government considers that the role and activity of the bodies and troops of the United Nations in the Congo are in sharp

contradiction with the aims and powers given to them in the above-mentioned resolutions.

Second, the task of the United Nations Force has been from the beginning to prevent foreign intervention by means of ensuring the earliest possible and complete withdrawal of its direct upholders and to help the lawful Central Government of the Republic of Congo in defence of law and order and in the preservation and consolidation of the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the country.

After so many months, none of these tasks has been fulfilled. Foreign intervention in the Congo is going on. Power is being openly usurped by persons and groups in service of the intervention. Work of the lawfully elected Central Government of the Republic and its Parliament has been rendered impossible. Personal and political freedoms are being taken away arbitrarily. The usurpatory regime of Mobutu has arrested, exposed publicly and in the most brutal manner to physical maltreatment and threatened the very lives of the Prime Minister and a whole series of members of the Central Government of the Congo, leading personalities, Members of Senate, numerous Members of Parliament and other prominent figures in the Congolese political life.

This has all been and continues to be done with the obviously feverish activity on the part of the forces of intervention and the use of their weapons, transport and other material means, and in the presence of representatives and armed forces of the United Nations, who have hitherto failed to prevent such a development and ensure the implementation of decisions taken by the Security Council and the General Assembly.

Third, the representatives of a number of member-countries including representatives of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia and especially of the countries of the African area, have addressed in this connexion many warnings and criticism, in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, for the attention of responsible functionaries and UN bodies, pointing out above all to the fact that the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly were not being implemented, and that this encouraged and helped those who were causing the crisis in the Congo of the type of Mobutu, Tshombe and Kalondji, and that this was bound to lead to

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a compromising of the role of the United Nations Force and other United Nations bodies in the Congo.

Despite this, fresh and serious omissions were made again and again which led to a situation in which, by the use of the above mentioned methods of unscrupulous violence, in the presence and under the protection of the troops and bodies of the United Nations in the Congo, the constitutional and political position in that country has been completely changed. A special role in this has been played by the armed groups under the leadership of Mobutu who are continuing to organize a completely unconstitutional regime of usurpation. Along with trampling underfoot the democratic rights and freedoms of the Congolese people, he attacks and expels the diplomatic representatives of those countries too which have unreservedly responded to the call of the United Nations and sent their units for the protection of the independence, integrity and sovereignty of the Congo Republic. He is provocatively attacking with arms the units of the United Nations forces, the personnel and property of the United Nations and is now, judging by all the appearances, preparing to pass on to physical liquidation of the recognized leaders of the political and national life in the Congo.

Fourth, this whole impermissible activity is being carried out with the inexplicably tolerant attitude of the United Nations Command and bodies in the Congo which is obviously based on misinterpretation of the mandate granted to the United Nations Force and representatives and reflected in the application of the policy of so-called "non-interference" in the internal affairs of the Congo. A situation has thereby been created in which the activity of those forces, which have brought about the extremely difficult situation in the Congo by their intervention from outside and most active prevention of the constitutional life and functioning of the Central Government and Parliament of the Congo, is developing unhampered. In this, there are even cases of United Nations units taking part, on orders from the Command, in armed suppression of popular revolt against the foreign intervention, in rounding up and delivering to the "organs of security" in foreign service people who are hostile to them, etc.

Fifth, for all these reasons, the Yugoslav Government considers that in the Congo the prestige and authority of the United Nations Organization has suffered the hardest blow

so far, and that the continuation of the above described illegal activities, may lead to even more serious consequences for peace in that part of the world and generally as well as for the United Nations Organization itself and for its role in international life.

Sixth, the Yugoslav Government declares that the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia, as a member of the United Nations, does not wish in any way to bear or share the responsibility for what is now happening in the Congo in the presence of the United Nations force and its other bodies. For this reason it has decided to withdraw without delay its diplomatic mission in Leopoldville.

It has also decided to withdraw its pilots and all the other personnel stationed in the Congo at the request of the United Nations. It reserves the right to ask the United Nations Organization for material compensation for the expenses it had in connection with the activity of this personnel.

Seventh, the Yugoslav Government continues to maintain that there can be no solution of the crisis in the Congo without reliance on the genuinely national forces in that country and the most urgent and complete withdrawal of all Belgians who occupy posts in various military detachments and administration, as well as in the economic and other institutions in the Congo.

Eighth, as the first and most indispensable task of the United Nations and a pre-condition for any further normalization of conditions in the Congo, the Yugoslav Government demands that most urgent and energetic measures be taken for release of the Prime Minister of the Central Congolese Government, Patrice Lumumba, and other detained persons from among the members of Government, Parliament, public and political life of the Congo.

Ninth, the Yugoslav Government considers it high time for the existing decisions of the United Nations Security Council and General Assembly on the Congo to be carried into effect and in this connexion, for the activity of responsible United Nations bodies to be directed in a positive way so that the country could be returned to constitutionality, foreign intervention completely liquidated, law and order most urgently restored and the independence, unity and territorial integrity of the Republic of Congo preserved."

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## Communiqué on Yugoslav — Italian Talks

A joint communiqué was released at the end of the talks between the Yugoslav and Italian Government delegations, which were headed by Foreign Secretary Popović and Foreign Minister Antonio Segni. The communiqué states that views were exchanged concerning the most important international problems. Both sides agreed, states the communiqué, that the solution of these problems should be sought in negotiation, notwithstanding differences existing between political and social systems.

Aware of the need for general and controlled disarmament, the two sides expressed their determination to back any beneficial initiative towards the attainment of this objective.

Both sides have underlined that the United Nations and its Charter offer the most suitable framework and foundation for the solution of international questions, primarily the problem of securing and consolidating peace in the world.

The two ministers have agreed that the existing gap between the underdeveloped countries and those which have achieved a higher degree of economic and social development is a constant source of danger and tension, which should be removed without delay.

In the province of mutual relations, with pleasure were noted the marked progress and the favourable prospects for even closer cooperation and further intensification of good-neighbour relations.

The two sides have emphasized that a high degree of trade between Yugoslavia and Italy has been reached and established that there are prospects for its further promotion. The Yugoslav delegation has informed the Italian of Yugoslavia's intention to carry out a foreign-exchange reform shortly. The Italian side confirmed that it would take part in the implementation of this reform within limits and under conditions which would be determined also in agreement with other interested countries.

The development of cultural, scientific and technical exchanges was also explored, and it was noted with satisfaction that this exchange is gaining a growing favourable degree, which will make possible the closer understanding and rapprochement of the peoples of the two countries.

Furthermore, some matters which are still outstanding between the two countries were also considered, and it was decided to solve them soon. With respect to the minorities, the two sides have agreed that the minorities should be a factor of rapprochement and, with this standpoint in view, they have agreed to take further steps, in keeping with existing commitments and constitutional provisions, so as to accelerate a just and satisfactory solution of some matters which are still outstanding and concerning the ethnic groups.

The two sides have agreed that it was expedient to the common interest to undertake delimitation between the two countries and to this end to renew negotiations towards a speedy solution.

During the visit were signed a cultural agreement, a consular convention and a convention on legal assistance.

The two sides confirmed their clear intention to do everything possible in the interest of the two countries for the further development of good-neighbour relations, which constitutes an important contribution to peace in this part of the world and progress in international life.

In this sense Foreign Secretary Koča Popović's visit is a significant step in the development of Italian-Yugoslav relations.

The talks were conducted frankly and with understanding, which has for long been characteristic of the good-neighbour relations between Yugoslavia and Italy, and have led to a wide survey of the general situation and to a detailed consideration of the present state of mutual relations between the two countries.

Parties to the conversations on the Yugoslav side were also Assistant Foreign Secretary Dr Jože Brilej, the Secretary of the Commission for Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries, Dragomir Vučinić, Ambassador Mihailo Javorski, the Chief of the Political Department of the Foreign Secretariat, Đuro Jović, and other senior officials of the Foreign Secretariat.

On the Italian side participants were also Foreign Under-secretaries Russo and Storchi, the Secretary General of the Foreign Ministry, Ambassador Grazzi, Ambassador Berio, and the General Directors for Political Affairs, Economic Affairs, and for Cultural Relations in the Foreign Ministry.

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## Declaration of the Moscow Council

*In connection with the declaration of the Council in Moscow of the Representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties, "Borba" in its issue of December 11, 1960 published an article by Vukašin Mčunović, its director, from which we quote the following extracts:*

THE Council considered it opportune to heap on Yugoslavia such abuses as do not redound to the honour of an assembly representing so many countries, parties and movements. But it did not make a single reference to the protagonists of obvious deviation, in treating certain problems of vital importance to socialism in the contemporary world. It was not considered opportune to mention any of these, although the motives and reasons for the holding of such a comprehensive council are known to lie in the deviations, standpoints and practices of certain parties, above all the Communist Party of China. The logical conclusion is obvious. When the standpoint of the representatives of a big country is involved, it is not mentioned. When a smaller socialist country is in question, in this case Socialist Yugoslavia, everything is permitted. Where is the principle of equal relations between large and small in general, and in the socialist world in particular? It is clear that the declaration of the Moscow Council does not contribute to the settlement of this problem but, on the contrary, it deepens and aggravates it. On the one hand, the authors spitefully attempt to discredit Yugoslavia, and on the other — they represent the policy of other inaccurately. Both throw an unfortunate light on the whole Council and its basic declaration. . . .

As regards Yugoslavia, she will surmount these obstacles just as she surmounted those that were placed in her way by the former practice of condemnation, economic blockade and political isolation. But as the views of the representatives of a powerful socialist and workers' movement are involved, we consider it our duty towards the International Workers' Movement and the struggle for socialism in the contemporary world to point out certain things. We are not concerned about the fact that the results of the building of socialism in Yugoslavia are not acknowledged in the Declaration. We do not consider that any forum has the right to give a warrant as to what degree a movement is socialist. Practice and its results are the only sure criterion. But it is the constantly repeated attempt to deny Yugoslavia her socialist character on the instructions of a forum which is alarming. It is particularly alarming that the Communist parties are calling for the isolation of Socialist Yugoslavia, and for a crusade against her. This attitude means that the delegations of these parties have not learnt a lesson from the recent past, which is full of proofs, from 1948 up to the present, that it is impossible to isolate Yugoslavia politically, that Yugoslavia has never ceased to act as an important factor in the International Workers' Movement and in the contemporary world, and that she has incessantly strengthened and developed socialist relations in society.

The passage in the Declaration which speaks of Yugoslavia is the climax of the contradictions which characterize this document from the November Council of the representatives

of the Communist and Workers' Parties. On the one hand, the Moscow Declaration pledges itself to the policy of co-existence, to equal co-operation and the unity of the Communist and Workers' Parties, to the acknowledgment of the most appropriate forms of struggle for peace and social progress; but on the other hand it attacks Socialist Yugoslavia, a country that has shown itself by its whole previous practice as an extremely active and consistent protagonist of such conceptions. Thus the authors of the Declaration find themselves in a very uncomfortable position — they are attacking Socialist Yugoslavia for the sake of some base reciprocal compromise.

The authors of the Declaration wished to take a midway course between dogmatism and "revisionism", sectarianism and "opportunism." But what they have written about Socialist Yugoslavia shows in the clearest way how near they have come just to that position of dogmatism and sectarianism which they criticized before the Council opened, and which they tried to criticize at the Council itself, if only indirectly.

On vital questions of socialism — and co-existence, equal international co-operation and the joint actions of all peace-loving forces are such — there is no middle way and there can never be one. On such questions there can be no bargaining if one really wishes to contribute to the strengthening of the present anti-imperialist and all other progressive forces, and to the widening of their co-operation. But lack of principle and vacillation are characteristic of certain passages of the Moscow Declaration, particularly of the one where Yugoslavia is spoken of after the manner of the Cominform.

It certainly cannot be in the interests of the joint efforts of all peace-loving nations of the world that a socialist country should be attacked in an unprikked manner and for personal reasons — only because it is pursuing a non-aligned policy and does not wish to be included in a camp. It is only natural that such attacks cannot but provoke an unfavourable reaction in all countries and forces which are an important factor today in the struggle for peace, and to which the representatives of the Communist and Workers' Parties appeal in their Declaration.

The latest attacks on Socialist Yugoslavia lead to a definite conclusion. These attacks show, first of all, that the practice of hampering the struggle for the speediest possible socialist development in our country will be continued. At the same time they show that the practice of diverting the attention of the International Workers' Movement from certain actual problems of socialist development, whose assessment and reasonable examination through constructive discussion would help socialist development as a whole to assume a still wider scope, will be continued too. This attitude towards Socialist Yugoslavia shows that there are still obstacles standing in the way of constructive trends and processes in the socialist countries and their Communist Parties. We are convinced that in the course of further development many of these obstacles will be surmounted, and that genuine, socialist relations, which are today still encumbered with various undesirable manifestations, will thus be confirmed still more strongly.



# Koča Popović Requests General Assembly Meeting

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretary, Koča Popović, stated in the Security Council on December 12 that he has been instructed by the Yugoslav Government to request an urgent meeting of the General Assembly owing to the gravity of the situation in the Congo irrespective of the decisions which might be taken at the present meeting of the Security Council concerning the Congo. Koča Popović said that the Yugoslav Government trusted that the United Nations would not betray the hopes which all mankind, so desirous of peace, vested in it at the present moment.

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretary stressed in his speech that the situation in the Congo had gravely deteriorated, with elements of civil war being ever more evident. Intervention and outside interference, which are the basic cause of the difficult crisis, are intensifying. This further sharpens the critical internal situation in the Congo. Not only does it intensify the difficulties of the stricken Congolese people even more, but also makes the normalization of conditions difficult, brings into question the existence and future of the republic of Congo, and seriously threatens peace in Africa and security in the world in consequence.

Vigorously condemning the brutal foreign intervention in the Congo, which is directed not only against the Congolese people, but also against the independence and future development of all Africa, Koča Popović said:

"As many facts bear out, complete disorder and lawlessness prevail in the Congo. The main executors of the lawless acts are various armed detachments and private "armies", organized, equipped and financed by the Belgian interventionists and other foreign colonialist circles. The direct aim of this action from the outset has been aimed to liquidate the freely elected government which was not to the liking of colonial quarters, for they had hoped to preserve their influence in the Congo. It was necessary to make possible and to impose new forms of colonial dependence. A blow was dealt upon the fundamental sources of constitutional government in the Congo, especially on parliament and the central government, and ruthless steps were taken to eliminate by violence the well-known leaders of the Congolese people and elected protagonists of its will and sovereignty."

Patrice Lumumba, continued the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary, is the head of the only legitimate government. He is also the recognized leader of the biggest national political movement in the Congo and the personification of the struggle of his people for national independence. This is also so with the other arrested leaders of Congolese political life, with the members of parliament, the government and other representative bodies. This being the case, then it is a dangerous illusion to expect that relaxation, normalization and positive development is possible in the Congo when the authentic leaders and patriots of the Congo are exposed to persecution and arrest by the usurpers of government, whose only qualification is that they have the all-round backing of colonial powers and are their weapons. On the contrary, it is quite obvious that this state of affairs will inevitably open the flood-

gates of civil war, whose repercussions need not remain within the confines of the Congo.

"This is why we together with many other countries request the immediate release of the arrested leaders of Congolese political life and their being enabled to perform their lawful functions and the normal work of the constitutional bodies.

Koča Popović then reminded the Security Council of the fact brought out also in the second report of the UN representative in the Congo, Dayal, to the effect that the work of Colonel Mobutu and his associates was unconstitutional and illegal and that their illegal authorities were under the complete control of the subjects of the former colonial power.

In this connection Koča Popović noted that the responsible officials of UN Headquarters in the Congo whose duty it was to enforce the resolutions of the Security Council and General Assembly failed to carry out their basic task and basic mandate — the liquidation of intervention and outside interference and assistance to the legitimate government and people of the Congo to overcome the difficulties caused by intervention and to preserve independence, unity and the territorial integrity of the country.

Speaking about the so-called policy of "non-interference" of the UN forces in Congolese affairs, Koča Popović said:

"While the central government of the Congo existed, at whose invitation the UN force was dispatched to the Congo, it was ignored and confined to its legal activity. While the Congolese national army existed as a natural part of the constitutional structure of the state it was disarmed under various pretexts. Now, however, behind a screen of "non-interference" the quite clearly defined and obvious action of the forces of foreign intervention, their direct military, administrative and other protagonists in the Congo and the local Congolese exponents of that intervention is condoned.

The Yugoslav Government, said Koča Popović, although it does not approve of the present policy and practice of the UN bodies in the Congo will continue to strive for a constructive solution in the Congo by means of the direct engagement of the UN with the aim of arresting the negative development in the Congo by means of urgent measures and to turn it in a positive direction. This can be accomplished only by urgently removing all the interventionist forces and the consequences of their action and by re-establishing constitutional order in that country. According to the assessments of the Yugoslav Government, it is necessary fully to admit and to draw the necessary deductions, that the so-called "bodies of government" such as Mobutu's "council of commissioners", which de facto rely exclusively on a mercenary army armed and equipped abroad, are entirely illegal, for they are nothing but a weapon of foreign interference.

As part of the process of normalization it is indispensable urgently to neutralize, place under complete control and eliminate from politics every armed detachment and private troops on the territory of the Congo. In the actual extraordinary situation, stressed Koča Popović, the only proper outlet is that headquarters of the UN force in the Congo and the inter-



national detachment under its command should assume all, I repeat all, responsibility for security, order and normal life in the country until the conditions are restored for normal operation of the constitutional bodies and national armed forces of the Congo.

In order in future to secure the consistent policy of the pertinent factors of the UN in the Congo, continued Koča Popović in the Security Council, we feel that it would be opportune to set up in the Congo itself a new advisory organ consisting primarily of representatives of the states of the African area itself. This would in a positive manner disencumber the UN bodies, both executive and otherwise, and could be of varied assistance also to the future legitimate Congolese government. If we succeed by means of all these and other measures to normalize, to really stabilize conditions in the Congo, it is obvious that the first and foremost task of the United Nations will then be to help that country and its stricken people to begin overcoming its severe economic and other difficulties and the problems which have only widely magnified owing to the tragic events of the past months. In a word, that the Congo may set out with all its powers towards its material prosperity, consolidation of its independence and development of its social life.

The breakdown of the independence and sovereignty of the Congo under the blows of foreign intervention and in the presence of UN forces in that country would be a severe blow to the future role of the United Nations in international affairs,

## Koča Popović's Speech During Debate on Algerian Problem at the U. N.

The latest events in Algeria have not only confirmed but evidently and most dramatically stressed the full justification and topicality of the way in which the Yugoslav Government had approached the Algerian problem, which President Tito has set forth before the General Assembly of UNO in September this year — declared the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary Koča Popović in debate on December 14 on the Algerian problem in the Political Committee of the General Assembly of the U. N.

The unarmed masses of the Algerian population, not any political group or movement, but the whole of the Algerian people — have once more confirmed clearly and unambiguously what they want, said Koča Popović. The Algerian people insist on their right to self-determination, their right to national freedom and independence, their right to all that the vast majority of the colonial peoples in Asia and Africa are already enjoying.

The United Nations Organization, continued Popović, has now been confronted with the most explicit plebiscite, with a mass and consistent expression of the will of the Algerian people, who have recently expressed, on the streets of the Algerian cities, at the cost of the heaviest sacrifices, what they could not and what they cannot express under the present conditions at the polls and on voting slips. Yugoslav Foreign Secretary added that the six-year war of the Algerian people, under the leadership of the Algerian Liberation Front and the provisional Government of Algeria and in particular the mass manifestations of the Algerian population during the last few days, have made every discussion on the actual status of the provisional Government of the Algerian Republic superfluous.

If already today nobody dares to oppose openly and in principle, the expressing by the Algerian people of the rights to self-determination, said Popović, the latest events must

said the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary. All who have this role to heart would take the defeat of the United Nations in the Congo to be a severe blow not only to the Congolese people but to the cause of peace, equality in the world and to everything that is written in the United Nations Charter. So much the greater is the responsibility of all those responsible for UN activity in the Congo, and especially of all those who owing to their narrow interests are playing an extremely irresponsible and dangerous game. And let no one, said the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary, prematurely celebrate his "victory". Deplorable is that "festivity" and extremely brittle is that "victory." It will not last long. There will come apace even deeper and harder shocks. "Whosoever sows wind shall reap gale."

Concluding his speech before the Security Council, Koča Popović said that the intensification of the crisis in the Congo and in connection with it would mean intensification of crisis in the Congo and in connection with it would mean intensification of crisis on the entire African continent, which might cause unforeseen international consequences. Having emphasized that the United Nations could still prevent this, for in the past it had in many difficult situations succeeded in finding the right road to the solution of complex and dangerous problems, Koča Popović requested most urgently that the General Assembly of the United Nations should meet irrespective of any decision which the Security Council might adopt.

have opened the eyes of everyone in regard to the ways and methods with which this right should be realized.

What right to self-determination can be exercised in the presence and under the control of an administration and an army for which a normal peaceful manifestation of the will for self-determination and independence is a sufficient reason for the massacre of that same "Algerian population" the recognition of whose right to self-determination is involved, and this in the presence of the President of the French Republic. If until recently hope could have been entertained by anyone that France herself, through negotiations with the representatives of the Algerian people, would be able to organize adequate forms to permit the Algerian people to express their right to self-determination, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary pointed out, that confidence has now been irretrievably liquidated by the events which have taken place in the streets of Algerian cities.

The above-mentioned facts, Popović went on to say, show that every formal referendum and plebiscite in connection with Algerian self-determination and independence, may have a significance only if organized and realized under international control, under the control of UNO. What is more, added Popović, we must ask ourselves whether any control can efficaciously act under such conditions as the presence of huge French armed forces in Algeria, which have once more confirmed lately, in actual deed, the actual aims of their presence in Algeria.

Referring to the attitude of the Yugoslav Government, Popović declared that this attitude was primarily determined by its rejection and condemnation of the resort to war, terror and violence as methods for maintaining colonial relations, and above all, by the feeling of a profound sympathy for the heroic struggle of the Algerian people. Popović recalled that it must be borne in mind that international relations have been



constantly suffering, and increasingly so, from the war in Algeria — as ever greater tension and danger to peace have been created in that area and in the whole world. Needless to point out, added Popović, what dangers to peace and security would have necessarily arisen from every extension of the Algerian conflict, extension which cannot be excluded if the cause of these dangers have not been eliminated.

✶ All the above mentioned aspects of the Algerian crisis are setting before this year's session of the General Assembly and UNO generally the task of giving a concrete and effective contribution to the solution of the Algerian problem and of engaging themselves effectively and energetically in that direction. This task, said Koča Popović, issues from the basic obligations of UNO laid down in the Charter. Hence, he added the Yugoslav delegation considers not only that the demand for the holding of a referendum in Algeria under the control of UNO is fully justified, but that this is the only way that would lead to the realization of the rights of the Algerian people to self-determination and that would enable the expression of their will in regard to the future of their country.

At the end of his speech, the Yugoslav Foreign Secretary said that the latest events in Algeria, as well as the debate in the Political Committee, and in that framework, especially the stand of the North African countries and other African and Asian states, have clearly shown to what extent the whole problem has become critical and how much it demands, without postponement and delay, effective decisions and recommendations of the General Assembly. "In this place, said Popović, I wish to underline the words of President of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, in the above mentioned speech before the General Assembly in connection with this problem. "If no way is found for an early democratic solution, force will be implicitly legalized as a means for stifling the legitimate aspirations of a people, and hence war in general".

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretary recalled that the draft resolution of 22 countries is before the Committee — a draft, which, as he said, was in complete accord with the approach and concepts of the Yugoslav Government on this question. In keeping with this, as well as with the earlier constructive efforts of the Yugoslav Government to find a peaceful democratic and just solution of this problem in accord with the aims and principles of the Charter and indispensable demands of the time, the Yugoslav delegation expresses here its full support to this draft resolution concluded Koča Popović.

The Yugoslav Foreign Secretary read in the Political Committee the message which President of the Provisional Government of Algeria Ferhat Abbas sent yesterday to President of Yugoslavia Josip Broz Tito.

## ***From the Press Conference***

*On December 2 and 9, Drago Kunc, spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, held press conferences for Yugoslav and foreign journalists and answered a number of questions on current world problems.*

### **DECEMBER 2**

**Kardelj in UAR.** — "The forthcoming visit of Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, to the UAR, following an invitation from President Nasser, is an extension of the established useful practice of exchanges of visits between outstanding statesmen of Yugoslavia and the UAR. During his visit, Vice President Kardelj will have talks with UAR leaders on international problems of common interest and questions concerning bilateral cooperation."

**Visit of President of Pakistan.** — "At the invitation of President Tito, President Mohamed Ayub Khan of Pakistan will pay a visit to Yugoslavia at the beginning of next year."

**Koča Popović in Austria.** — "The visit of Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, to Austria, has been very useful, as revealed by the communiqué released and the statements made by the two ministers. It has helped promote mutual understanding, to solve some bilateral questions and to create

conditions for settling outstanding problems in future through mutual efforts. The results of this visit mark a new stage in the development of good neighbourly relations and friendly cooperation between the two countries. We are convinced that the forthcoming visit to Yugoslavia of Herr Raab, the Austrian Chancellor, and Herr Putermann, the Vice Chancellor, will be another important step in this direction."

**Local Frontier Traffic.** — Asked if there had been any talks so far on local frontier traffic between Yugoslavia and any of the adjoining socialist countries, Drago Kunc replied: "The Yugoslav Government attaches special significance to the development of relations and expansion of cooperation with the neighbouring countries in all fields, including the settling of frontier problems. Cooperation of this kind, in our opinion, helps to improve general relations between neighbouring countries. Agreements on local frontier traffic have been signed with Italy, Austria and Greece, and a number of frontier questions settled with the other adjoining countries, with the exception of Albania, which refuses to cooperate. Considering that there are opportunities for establishing wider forms of cooperation, the Yugoslav Government has submitted to some of these countries several concrete proposals, some of which refer to the question of local frontier traffic. An exchange of views is in progress."

**Greeco-Bulgarian Talks.** — "Although the question involves the settling of problems of direct concern to Greece and Bulgaria, we wish to reiterate the Yugoslav Government's view, stated on many previous occasions, that the solution of the existing bilateral problems between the Balkan countries would create a better atmosphere in that area as a whole, help to preserve peace, and stimulate the further coordination and development of relations."

**UAR — Congo Relations.** — On the unilateral decision of Mr Kasawubu, the Congolese President, to break off diplomatic relations with the UAR, the spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs said: "Although the question concerns relations between third countries, I should, nevertheless like to say that decisions of this kind are deplorable and they certainly do not contribute to the settlement of the crisis in the Congo and the establishment of friendly relations between the African countries."

**Attacks against Yugoslavia.** — "We do not deem it necessary formally to deny statements of the kind made by Chou En Lai, the Chinese Premier, on the occasion of Albanian National Day, accusing Yugoslavia of subversive activities against Albania, since both the principles and practice of Yugoslav foreign policy are sufficiently well-known and speak for themselves. As part of the generally intensified anti-Yugoslav campaign in China, in which both the Prime Minister and Foreign Minister have personally taken an active part within a period of less than a month, Chou En Lai's statement gives support to cold war manifestations in the Balkans, and constitutes an act of brutal pressure on Yugoslavia and her independent and peaceful foreign policy. This is in flagrant contradiction with the occasional statements by Chinese leaders in respect of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. The campaign waged against Yugoslavia by the Chinese and Albanian press has now assumed unprecedented proportions. The least motive is taken advantage of for making fresh denunciations against Yugoslavia. These attacks in the Chinese and Albanian press and the statements of representatives of the two countries, have obviously come to hold a definite place in the foreign political plans of the Chinese and Albanian leaders".

### **DECEMBER 9,**

**Koča Popović in Italy.** — "The visit of the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs to Italy, as shown by the communiqué published and the statements made by the two Foreign Ministers, constitutes an important step in the development of Italian-Yugoslav relations. During the talks in Rome, which took place in an atmosphere of sincerity and understanding, an exhaustive analysis was made of the general situation, and particularly of the present state of affairs and the possibility of the further development of bilateral relations. It was agreed to approach a speedier solution of outstanding problems. The conventions signed and the talks held in Rome should greatly contribute to the development of successful cooperation between the two countries, and we firmly believe that the coming visit of Signor Segni, the Italian Foreign Minister, to Yugoslavia, will be another step in this direction."



**Moscow Declaration.** — Asked how the attack on Yugoslavia, which forms part of the Moscow Declaration of 81 communist and workers' parties published on the 7th of this month, had been assessed in Yugoslavia, the spokesman of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs replied: "The part of the Declaration referring to Yugoslavia is construed as a fresh attempt to present some well-known events in the history of relations between the countries of the socialist camp and Yugoslavia, and also the present international position and role of our country, in a false and malicious manner. In this way, the Declaration attempts to discredit Yugoslav policy as a whole, and particularly Yugoslavia's consistent struggle for equality and independence in international relations, for active peaceful coexistence and for the preservation of world peace. Such an attitude is all the more surprising since many of the signatories of the Declaration, after assessing the policy of this country as constructive, not long ago expressed their readiness to cooperate with Yugoslavia in the solving of basic international problems."

**Note to China.** — "Yugoslavia's attitude towards the attack made on her by Chou En Lai, the Chinese Premier, in a statement at a reception in the Albanian Embassy in Peking, has already been stated. We may add that in a note of protest sent to the Chinese Government on that occasion it was pointed out that Chou En Lai's statement was intended further to aggravate relations between Yugoslavia and Albania, the tension in these relations being entirely due to the Albanian Government. The note also pointed out that through Chou En Lai's statement, the Chinese Government, whose anti-Yugoslav campaign has already gravely affected Yugoslav-Chinese relations, is deliberately endeavouring to make these even worse."

## ***Meetings and Talks***

### **OFFICIAL**

**Vice President Kardelj in UAR.** — Edvard Kardelj, Vice-President of the Federal Executive Council, arrived in Cairo on December 10, with other members of a Yugoslav delegation, for a ten-day official visit to the United Arab Republic.

**Koča Popović in Rome.** — Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs paid a state visit to Rome from December 1 to 4. He was received by Signor Gronchi, President of the Republic, and Signor Fanfani, Prime Minister. A joint communiqué was published following the termination of Yugoslav-Italian political talks. The head of the Italian delegation at the talks was Signor Segni, the Foreign Minister.

**Koča Popović in New York.** — Koča Popović, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, left for New York on December 10, to take part in the debate in UNO on the situation in the Congo.

### **OTHER CONTACTS**

**Meeting of Commission for Internal Transport.** — The twentieth regular meeting of the Commission for Internal Transport of the European Economic Commission, held in Geneva in the first half of December, was attended by a Yugoslav delegation. The meeting discussed, among other matters, the resolutions of the European Economic Commission relating to transport, and some questions of railway, river and road transport in Europe.

**Professor Hansen of Harvard University in Yugoslavia.** — Professor Alwyn Hansen of Harvard University, a prominent American economist, arrived in Belgrade on December 10th after previously visiting Ljubljana. Professor Hansen is staying here as a guest of the Institute for International Politics and Economics, where he has given several lectures.

**UAR Film Delegation in Belgrade.** — Within the framework of cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and the UAR, a film delegation of the United Arab Republic arrived in Belgrade on December 3 for a ten-day visit to Yugoslavia. The members of the delegation will attend film performances during a week of showing UAR films in this country.

**Yugoslav Film Workers in Moscow.** — Žorž Skrigin, Secretary General of the Federation of Film Workers of Yugoslavia, and Vatroslav Mimica, film director, left for the USSR on December 11, for a visit to the Section of Film Workers of the Council of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Cooperation with Foreign Countries.

**Yugoslav Youth Delegation in Warsaw.** — A delegation of the Bureau for International Exchange of Young People and Students, attached to the Central Committee of the Yugoslav People's Youth Organization and the Central Committee of the Yugoslav Students' Federation, took part in the International Conference for Youth and Student Affairs, held in Warsaw early in December. The Yugoslav delegation signed agreements on cooperation in 1961 with several foreign youth delegations.

## ***Negotiations and Agreements***

### **ECONCMY**

**Yugoslav-Polish Economic Cooperation.** — A five-year agreement on trade was signed in Warsaw at the beginning of December, providing for exchanges of some basic goods between the two countries, to the value of 320 million dollars for the 1961—1965 period. This long-term agreement will contribute to the further increase in the value of the total volume of trade in the coming period.

**Yugoslav-Turkish Negotiations.** — A Turkish economic delegation, headed by Mr Mazlum Ataman, president of the department for foreign trade in the Ministry of Trade, arrived in Belgrade on December 8. The delegation of Turkish economists began negotiations with a Yugoslav economic delegation for the conclusion of a trade and payments agreement for 1961.

**Yugoslav-Rumanian Agreement.** — A long-term agreement on trade between Yugoslavia and Rumania for the 1961—1965 period was signed in Bucharest on December 12. It provides for trade exchanges to the value of about 90 million dollars.

**Yugoslav-Polish Protocol.** — Within the framework of a long-term trade agreement, a protocol on trade exchanges between Yugoslavia and Poland for 1961 was signed in Warsaw on December 12. The protocol fixes the goods list for next year.

### **SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL COOPERATION**

**Convention on Legal Assistance.** — A convention on legal assistance between Yugoslavia and Italy was signed in Rome on December 3. The convention provides for an expansion of cooperation and exchange of experience in this sphere.

### **DIPLOMATIC COOPERATION**

**Consular Convention with Italy.** — A consular convention between Yugoslavia and Italy was signed in Rome on the 3rd of this month. It settles some questions so far unsolved in this field of diplomatic cooperation.

### **CULTURE**

**Agreement with Italy.** — An agreement on cultural cooperation between Yugoslavia and Italy was signed in Rome early this month, during the visit to Italy of the Yugoslav State Secretary for Foreign Affairs. The agreement provides for more intensive exchange and cooperation in all fields of culture and the arts.

## ***News in Brief***

### **THE ECONCMY**

**Industry.** — Industrial production in Yugoslavia is today four times as great as before the war and over five times as great as in 1946.

\*\*\*. — The electrical industry has increased its output in 1960 37 times, in relation to the prewar level.



**Means of Production.** — The total output of means of production has gone up by nearly 15 times in relation to 1939.

**Agriculture.** — Agricultural production rose by an average of 5.6 per cent annually from 1953 to 1957, and by 10.8 per cent from 1957 to 1960.

\*\*\*. In recent years over one hundred thousand million dinars have been spent annually on the modernization of agriculture through social investments.

\*\*\*. Whereas in 1939 75 per cent of the total Yugoslav population was engaged in agriculture, today this percentage has dropped to less than 50 per cent.

**Cooperation.** — In the course of last year, over 830,000 rural households cooperated with the socialist agricultural organizations, i. e., four times as many as in 1958.

**Investments.** — Over the past 15 years, investments in Yugoslavia amounted to an average of 27 per cent of the total social product.

**National Income.** — The total national income increased from 1948 to 1960 by an average rate of about 7 per cent.

\*\*\*. Yugoslav industry covers for 50 per cent of the total national income.

**Social Economy.** — Another million people have been employed in the social sector of the economy over the last six years.

\*\*\*. For the past three years, the number of newly-employed personnel in the social sector of the economy has risen by an average of 180,000 persons annually.

\*\*\*. In the last two years, the average rate of increase in social production has amounted to 12 per cent.

## STANDARD

**Income.** — The per capita average annual income increased in the period between 1957 and 1960 by a rate of about 12 per cent annually.

**Consumption.** — The consumption of the population in 1959 exceeded that of 1956 by 38 per cent.

**Salaries.** — The real salaries of Yugoslav office employees and workers rose in 1959 by 41 per cent as compared to 1956.

**Flats.** — The number of newly-built flats in the social sector, whose average annual increase amounted to 15,557 in the period between 1953 and 1956, rose to 39,000 in 1959.

**Social Insurance.** — About 226 thousand million dinars were spent on social insurance in 1959.

**Children's Allowance.** — In 1959, about 64 thousand million dinars were spent on behalf of children's allowances.

## GROWTH OF THE ECONOMY 1961-65

Sectors	Average annual rate (in %)
National income	11,2
Social Product:	11,4
— industry	13,0
— agriculture	7,2
— forestry	6,7
— civil engineering	13,3
— transport	11,3
— trade, catering and tourism	12,2
— crafts	12,3
Economic investments	12,6
Non-economic investments	12,5
Personal consumption	8,8
Social standard	12,9
Exports	13,8
Imports	9,8
Newly-employed (in the social sector of the economy)	6,2
Labour productivity (total economy)	6,8

## Political Diary

**December 2** — A meeting of the Federal People's Assembly was held. A commission for the new Constitution of the Federal People's Republic of Yugoslavia was set up and new laws on the organization of Yugoslav Railways and the Yugoslav Post, Telegraph and Telephone Services adopted. Peko Dapčević, Hasan Brkić and Ljubo Babić, members of the Federal Executive Council, were relieved of their present duties to take up their new appointments. Ljupčo Arsov, Zoran Polić, Marin Cetinić and Danilo Kekić, deputies to the people's assembly, were elected new members of the Federal Executive Council. Maks Baće has succeeded the late Mitar Bakić as Secretary of the Federal People's Assembly.

**December 5** — A meeting of the Presidency of the Central Council of the Yugoslav Trade Union Confederation was held, at which the new draft five-year plan of economic development for the 1961—1965 period was discussed.

**December 7** — The Economic Committees of both houses of the Federal People's Assembly began a discussion of the draft five-year plan of economic development of Yugoslavia.

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*December 7* — Ivica Gretić, federal deputy, was elected new president of the Economic Committee of the Federal Executive Council.

*December 8* — The Yugoslav Government sent a memorandum to the United Nations criticizing the tolerant attitude of the UN bodies in the Congo towards foreign intervention.

*December 9* — A meeting of the Federal Executive Council was held, at which the drafts of the Plan of Economic Development of Yugoslavia in the coming five years, the Federal Social Plan and the Federal Budget for the coming year, were approved.

*December 9* — The Federal Institute for Social Insurance held a meeting at which it was decided to coordinate pensions and personal allowances with the movement of personal earnings.

*December 10* — The Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Journalists' Federation, held in Belgrade on December 8 and 9, ended its work by electing a new Federal Committee and Supervisory Committee, and adopting the Statutes and resolutions. Dušan Popović, Director of Belgrade Radio-Television, was elected new president of the Federation.

*December 10* — The Presidency of the Yugoslav League for Peace sent a letter of protest to the UN Secretary General, Mr Hammarskjöld, in connection with the latest developments in the Congo.

*December 12* — The Eleventh Annual Assembly of the Standing Conference of Towns was held. The new plan of economic development of Yugoslavia, which pays special attention to the material position of the commune, was discussed.

*December 12* — The Fifth Congress of the Yugoslav Health Workers' Union began work in Belgrade. The attitude of doctors towards the patients, the humanization of the health service, the free choice of doctors and other current questions, were considered.

*December 8* — By a decision of the Yugoslav Government, the Yugoslav diplomatic mission and personnel in the service of UNO in the Congo have been withdrawn. The Yugoslav chargé d'affaires in the Congo has left for Yugoslavia.

*December 8* — A note of protest against the statements made against Yugoslavia by Chou En Lai, the Prime Minister of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, was handed to the Chinese chargé d'affaires in Belgrade.

*December 9* — President Tito invested Mr Raden Maladi, Indonesian Minister of Information, with the Order of the Yugoslav Flag, First Class, for his merits in the development of Yugoslav-Indonesian cooperation.

*December 9* — President Tito received the chargé d'affaires of the Indian Embassy in Belgrade, who handed him a personal message from Mr Nehru, the Indian Prime Minister.

*December 10* — By a decree of the President of the Republic, Lazar Latinović, former head of department in the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, was appointed new Yugoslav ambassador to Argentina.

*December 10* — A Yugoslav consulate was opened in Alexandria, to which Petar Mihajlovski has been appointed consul.

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### Diplomatic Diary

*December 8* — By a decree of the President of the Republic, Mišo Pavičević, of the State Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, was appointed permanent Yugoslav representative in the United Nations Organization.

*December 8* — President Tito received Ivan Zamčevski, the outgoing Soviet ambassador to Yugoslavia, in a farewell visit.

*December 8* — By a decree of the President of the Republic, Jovan Vukmanović, former chargé d'affaires in Tripoli, was appointed Yugoslav minister to Lybia.

### THE REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

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